

**History in Pictures: Father Buechel and the Lakota Winter Counts**

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Among Eugene Buechel's many ethnographic accomplishments was compiling a collection of Lakota winter counts. Whether Buechel's reason for making the collection was to better understand Lakota culture or to acquire Lakota texts for his own study of the language, the collection was undoubtedly important to both endeavors.

Winter counts are lists of the names given to individual years by Lakota historians. The year was conceived as extending from the first snow of a winter to the first snow of the next winter; hence, "winter" is the general term used for year, and "winter count" is the term for lists of year names. Each family group, band, or tribe chose the name for the preceding year after careful consideration. The year name might refer to the most important event of the preceding year or simply to a unique event that would be easy to recall (Mallery 1877, 1886, 1893; Howard 1960; Bad Heart Bull and Blish 1967; McCoy 1983; Wildhage 1993). Usually each band or family group had one or more historians in charge of remembering the year names. By memorizing the year names in order, one could easily calculate the number of years that had passed since one's birth or other event.

Whether winter counts in pictographic form preceded European contact is not known. Before paper became widely available, Lakota historians painted pictographs on a tanned hide to represent the year names. Hides generally do not survive more than a century or two, which necessitated periodic recopying of records. The lack of old winter counts on animal hides thus does not mean that the tradition itself was not old. When paper became widely available and a written version of Lakota was developed, many winter counts were transformed from pictographs on hide to pictographs on paper and eventually to lists of year names in Lakota or English. Individual winter counts vary in the number of years included. Some have 300 or more individual year names or year name pictographs, while others include only a few decades. Some families maintained their winter counts well into the 20th century, but many were abandoned during the early reservation period as band or family historians died before they were able to train someone to take over the task and, as they recorded, "nothing happened" anymore. With the children at residential schools and the young men and women struggling for their very survival, it was difficult to find young persons willing and able to undergo the memorization not only of the long lists of year names, but the details of history each name was intended to invoke.

It is important to remember that even after they were written out in Lakota or English, winter counts were essentially a form of oral history. Although modern Western culture places a high value on written history, oral history has been the preferred form in most times and places. Effective oral history, however, requires a high degree of education. Unlike written history, which requires only knowledge of reading for its continuance, oral history requires exacting and detailed memorization of narratives. Historians carefully selected those children and young persons with an aptitude for this type of learning and an understanding of the need for accuracy in their recitations. The

year names listed in the winter counts are analogous to the headlines in a newspaper—they evoke a narrative, but the narrative itself is a separate and much lengthier text.

A winter count keeper was responsible for adding each year's name to the existing record. He (all recorded keepers are men) could pass his winter count to another historian when he was ready to give up this responsibility. He could also allow another person to copy his winter count and add year names as time passed. Thus, many winter counts passed through more than one keeper.

Winter counts are not rare. More than 100 examples are known and probably many more are in the hands of Lakota families as heirlooms. Despite this, few studies have been devoted to the pictographic system used for recording the year names. Garrick Mallery produced three publications on the subject before the end of the nineteenth century (Mallery 1877, 1886, 1893), but few researchers have followed up on his work. As in other forms of Plains Indian pictography, one key to “reading” the winter count pictographs is knowing that every element of a picture carries meaning. Plains Indian pictographic writing omits extraneous detail such as background scenery, details of a person's appearance, and objects that are not part of the narrative the picture is intended to convey. Another key is understanding conventions such as posture, hairstyle, weaponry, and name signs. A person's name often was represented as a small picture above his or her head.

Winter counts have been important in developing an understanding of Plains Indian pictographic writing, because many of the years names appear on numerous winter counts and many pictographic winter counts are accompanied by written lists of year-names in Lakota or English. This has allowed researchers such as Mallery to observe how particular ideas, including abstract notions such as holiness, fear, starvation, conflict, and peace, are represented in pictures. This information has contributed to studies of other forms of pictographic communication in the Great Plains, such as hide paintings, “ledger book” drawings, and even petroglyphs and rock paintings (Mallery 1877, 1886, 1893; Bad Heart Bull and Blish 1967; Sundstrom 1990, 2004; Keyser 1996, Keyser and Klassen 2001) .

Buechel collected two pictographic winter counts: one made by Big Missouri and copied by Kills Two and one of unknown authorship that is the subject of this paper. Buechel collected seven winter count texts in Lakota, including those of Ring Bull<sup>1</sup>, Big Missouri and Kills Two's copy of Big Missouri, Walking on Sky (White Thunder), and Silas Fills the Pipe. Two partial winter count texts found in the papers of the St. Alphonsus Chapel have been attributed to Yellow Hair. Buechel apparently took some of these down by dictation from the winter count keepers, and some were written down by Lakota catechists of St. Francis Mission.

Buechel scholars will be familiar with the challenges of working with his handwritten documents. Those taken down by the catechists in their boarding school script are much more legible; however, both employ orthographies no longer in use in writing Lakota or Dakota. For example, when Buechel began recording Lakota texts, he

had not yet settled on the *h* symbol for the second consonant in the word *kaga*. He first used an r-like symbol for the sound and later the dotted h. Sounds later represented as *p* were recorded at first as *b*. There are two versions of each of the winter count texts presented here, Ring Bull and Walking on Sky. Buechel's notes do not explain why he collected two versions. Because the orthographies are slightly different, it may be that one copy represents Buechel's attempt to correct his earlier dictation or transcription.

No currently known winter count text exactly matches the pictures on the unidentified winter count presented here. The span of years and the individual year names of the Ring Bull and Walking on Sky winter counts are similar, but not identical, to those depicted on the unidentified winter count. This similarity may be simply because all three winter counts were based on a fourth winter count, perhaps that of the Minneconjou leader-historian Iron Shell, or it may be because the Ring Bull and Walking on Sky winter counts that Buechel collected were attempts to interpret the pictures.

The following interpretation of the unidentified St. Francis Mission winter count first shows a series of pictographs from the two versions of the winter count. One, drawn on brown paper, apparently is a draft version of the virtually identical pictures drawn on canvas cloth. This is followed by the year-names from the Ring Bull and Walking on Sky winter counts, giving both versions of each. Each year name is translated into English. No attempt was made here to correct the Lakota orthography or spelling to modern standards. This is followed by comments based on comparisons with other winter counts. The Walking on Sky winter count is that of Wakinyan Ska or White Thunder, who apparently took an English name that approximated the pronunciation of his Lakota name. His son Clarence Walking on Sky provided the winter count to Buechel.

The unidentified St. Francis Mission winter count is abbreviated here as SFM, Ring Bull as RB, and Walking on Sky as WS.





No picture for 1808 in St. Francis Mission winter count.

Beginning of Ring Bull winter count:

RB 1808 Cega cica wan cán kante. (Cega cinca wan cán kate.) Kettle's child was killed by a tree

The first picture on the St. Francis Mission winter count shows a beaver.

RB 1809 Capa cika ti ile. (Cápa cika ti ile.) Little Beaver's house burned.

Beginning of Walking on Sky winter count:

WS 1810 Caba ciga ti ile. (Caba ciga ko ileyapi.) Little Beaver's house burned.

Little Beaver was the Lakotas' nickname for a white trader, possibly Registre Loisel, who built a post on the Platte River. According to the winter counts, he built the post in 1808 and it burned sometime between 1808 and 1812 (Beckwith 1930:357; Curtis 1908:171; Cohen 1939, 1942:20; Finster 1968:21; Grange 1963:76; Hassrick 1964:306; Howard 1960:358; Mallery 1893:275; McCreight 1947:165; Powers 1963:29; Sundstrom and Halfred 1988; Walker 1982:132, 315; Young Bear 1987:781). Many of the winter counts record that he died in the fire. This fate was not uncommon at the early posts where gunpowder kegs presented a constant danger. The Eaton winter count notes that many people were killed together in a building, but it is not clear whether this refers to the same accident (Sundstrom and Halfred 1988).

SFM Picture of a horse, but no obvious decoration on tail.

RB 1810-11 Sinte wa ki'ju aglipi. (Sinte aki'ju aglipi.) They brought back a horse with a decorated tail.

WS 1811 Sonk ku wa akli. (Sonk kuwapelo.) They brought horses back.

The Oglala and Sicanju winter counts note that they brought in an enemy horse that had eagle feathers in its mane and tail (Beckwith 1930:357; Cohen 1942:20; Curtis 1908:171; Finster 1968:21; Grange 1963:76; Hassrick 1964:306; Mallery 1893:315; McCreight 1947:165; Waggoner 1988:12; Walker 1982:132; Young Bear 1987:781). According to the winter counts, this animal became a famous racehorse (Cohen 1939:17; Higgenbotham 1981:10).

SFM Picture of a tipi with an oversized flap.

RB 1811-12 Waniyetu wica akiran. (Waniyetu wica akik'an.) The people were starving in winter.

WS 1812 Wica kiran wicotiye. (Wicakiran wicotiye.) They were starving in camp.

Although the picture is not an obvious reference to starvation in winter, it is possible that its odd shape is intended to indicate deep snow. Heavy snow winters often led to famine in the winter camps. Northern and southern Lakota and Yanktonai winter counts all record a winter of famine this year.

SFM Picture of a white man holding up a yellow roll of paper.

RB1812 Wizi ik'icazopi. (Wizi ikicazopi.) Old tent or yellow buckskin gave them credit

WS 1813 Wizikica zopi. (Wizi ikica zopelo.) Yellow buckskin gave credit.

Apparently, a trader recorded the Lakotas' debts and credits on a roll of buckskin or perhaps on foolscap paper that reminded the Indians of buckskin. Indians kept pictographic records on rolls of hide; thus, they may simply have drawn an analogy between their own buckskin records and those kept by the trader. There is no indication of which trader started credit-based trading. Competition was fierce among the various trading companies, and the local tribes soon learned to use that situation to their advantage by demanding credit or higher prices for the hides and furs they brought to trade, threatening to move their trade to the competition if their demands were not met. The Wind-Roan Bear winter count says that they fought over the "yellow buckskin," suggesting that the Indians and the trader did not see eye to eye on the transactions (Higginbotham 1981:11); however, the Big Missouri winter counts refers to this trader as a good man (Cohen 1939:17). Iron Shell mentions only that the trader extended credit with accounts tallied on a "striped yellow buckskin" (Hassrick 1964:306). The reference to stripes suggests lined paper.

SFM Picture of a wounded man with a rifle.

RB 1813 Iwofaña yuha iwaktekli pi. (Iwohaña yuha iwákteglipi.) They brought back the scalp of an enemy who had a rifle

WS 1814 Iwoga ga yuha wan ktepi. (Manza wakan yu ha wan ktepi.) A rifle owner was killed.

The first report of guns appears in the winter counts for the year 1707. The trade in such weapons was interrupted by the War of 1812, during which the Indians were unable to obtain firearms. This year name thus may record the reintroduction of guns on the northern plains or may merely record the Lakotas' satisfaction in attaining a hard-to-get weapon.

This event is recorded in the Iron Shell, Wind-Roan Bear, Wind, and Big Missouri winter counts (Cohen 1939:17; Hassrick 1964:306; Higginbotham 1981:11).



SFM Outline of person with a hatchet embedded in his head.

RB 1814 Wita paha to karuŋa pi. (Witapahátu kaŋuŋapi.) They smashed the Kiowa's skull.

WS 1815 Wita pa hato o wan karuga. (Wita pahata on wan karuga.) They smashed a Kiowa's skull.

The most plausible accounts place this event was at Scotts Bluff, Nebraska. Apparently, it was the Oglalas' way of refusing an offer of peace from the Kiowas. Witapahato is an old name for the Black Hills (the blue island hill) and for those who lived there before the Lakotas. It is applied most often to the Kiowas (DeMallie 1984:314; LaPointe 1976:61). Already at this time, the southern Lakotas intended to secure the Black Hills for themselves. This event is recorded in many of the winter counts: Wounded Bear, Red Horse Owner, High Hawk, Hardin, Garnier, Swift Dog, Iron Crow, Iron Shell, Fills the Pipe, Flying Hawk, End of Cloud, Elk Head, Wind, Kindle, Big Missouri, Eaton, Lawrence's Hunkpapa, Whiteman Stands in Sight, Spider, Swift Bear, No Ears, Good, Flame, Lone Dog, Swan, Mato Sapa, Bush, American Horse, High Hawk, High Dog, , Makula, Steamboat, Swift Dog, Vestal's White Bull, and an incomplete and unidentified Hunkpapa or Yanktonai winter count on file in the archives of Oglala Lakota College (Beckwith 1930:357; Cohen 1939, 1942:21; Curtis 1908:172; Feraca 1971; Finster 1968:23; Grange 1963:76; Hassrick 1964:306; Howard 1960:360; Karol 1969:27; Lawrence 1905, 1909; Mallery 1893:276, 316; McCreight 1947:166; Powers 1963:29; Sundstrom and Halfred 1988; Vestal 1934b:264; Waggoner 1988:12; Walker 1982:133; Young Bear 1987:781).

SFM Picture of a square house with two people inside.

RB 1815 Wicařcala otunwaheta ipi na. [another word hard to decipher] Wicařcala otunwaheta [waslinyle??] ipi na tapi. The old man or the old men died in Washington, DC.

WS 1816 Canpon pon on ticagapi. (Can pon pon on ticagapelo.) They built a house of rotten wood.

This picture could record any of three events. Consonant with Ring Bull, the Red Horse Owner, Iron Crow and Iron Shell winter counts record that a contingent of Lakotas went to “the city” (i.e., Washington, D.C.) and were not heard from again: “They died in the city” (Hassrick 1964:306; Karol 1969:27; Walker 1982:133). The Walking on Sky text refers to a trader who had the Lakotas build a wooden trading post for him. The winter counts consistently specify that the house was made of punky or rotten wood (Curtis 1908:172; Mallery 1893:316; Powers 1963:29); however, some give this as a separate event a few years later (Beckwith 1930:358; Finster 1968:23; Grange 1963:76; Mallery 1893:277; McCreight 1947:166; Sundstrom and Halfred 1988; Waggoner 1988:12; Walker 1982:133). Some of the winter counts refer to the man as Joze (Joseph), probably Joseph Primaeux, although Mallery (1886:110) identifies the trader as Louis La Conte. Both men had trading posts at Ft. Pierre. The Elk Head winter count gives the man’s name as Coze (Joseph) and notes that he was a mixed-blood Oneida. The Eaton winter count states that two people were taken to a winter camp, as well as mentioning building a large house (Sundstrom and Halfred 1988). The Good, High Hawk, Hardin, Garnier, Fills the Pipe, Elk Head, End of Cloud, Kindle, Lone Dog, Makula, No Ears, Steamboat, Flying Hawk, and Vestal’s White Bull winter counts say that the Sans Arc (Itazipco) Lakota lived in log cabins or earth lodges in 1816 and 1817 (Beckwith 1930:357; Curtis 1908:172; Finster 1968:23-24; Grange 1963:76; Mallery 1893:276, 316; McCreight 1947:166; Vestal 1934b:263; Waggoner 1988:12; Walker 1982:133).

SFM Picture of a man wounded in the heel.

RB 1816 Rkluta atkuku ta. (Hluta atkuku te.) Long Neck’s father died.

WS 1817 Šake ya rugapi atku wan ktepi. (Šake ya gu gapi atku ku ktepelo.) Bites Nails’s father was killed.

The Swift Bear, Iron Shell, Wind-Roan Bear, Wind, Swift Bear, Cloud Shield, and Big Missouri winter counts all record the wounding of a man during battle, after which he was called “Wounded Heel” (Cohen 1942:21; Hassrick 1964:306). It is possible that Wounded Heel is the same person as Long Neck’s and/or Bites Nails’s father.

SFM Picture of a man.

RB 1817 Hohu napoktan un ta. (Hohú napóktan un ta.) Bone Bracelet died.

WS 1818 Hohu nunpo ktan te. (Ho hu nanpo ktan telo.) Bone Bracelet died.

The drawing on paper shows a rather featureless person; however, that on canvas has a line across one wrist that may refer to the name Bone Bracelet. The death of Bone Bracelet (“Bone Wearer”) is recorded in the Wind-Roan Bear, Wind, and Iron Shell winter counts (Hassrick 1964:307; Higginbotham 1981:12). The death of Crooked Wrist



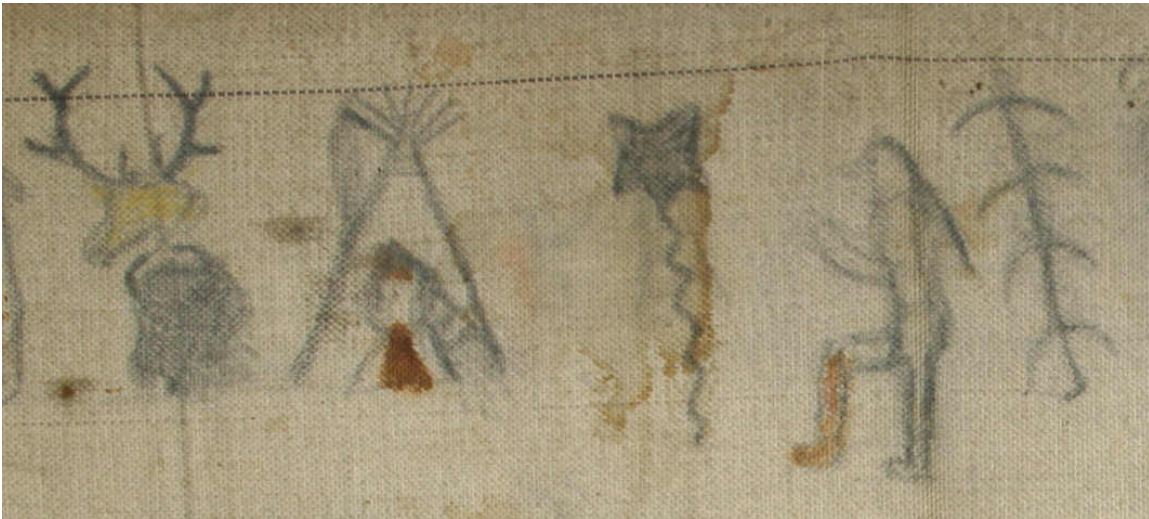
is recorded in the Swift Bear winter count; this may be an alternate translation of the words for curved bone [bracelet] (Cohen 1942:21).

SFM Drawing of a Lakota man with pox.

RB 1818 I'ozí ti tanka kicaga pi. (Iozí ti tanka kicagapi.) Yellow Eyes had a house built.

WS 1819 Nawica sli ye. (Nan wilca śliyelo.) Smallpox.

A smallpox epidemic is recorded in many of the winter counts for this year. It would appear that the epidemic struck all of the Lakota tribes and bands (cf. Cohen 1942:21; Curtis 1908:172; Higginbotham 1981:12; Howard 1960:362; Mallery 1893:277, 317; Walker 1982:133).



SFM Picture of a buffalo head with an elk head above it.

RB 1819 Hekaka najin tatanka ktepi. (Hekaka nájin tatanka ktepi.) A buffalo bull killed Standing Elk.

WS 1820 Heraka nanjin tataka ktepi. (Heraka Nanjin tatanka ktepelo.) A buffalo bull killed Standing Elk.

The picture confirms that Standing Elk was killed by a bison, not by a person named Buffalo. The Iron Shell winter count also records this event (Hassrick 1964:307).

SFM Drawing of a Crow wounded at head and chest inside a tipi painted black at the top.  
RB 1820 “Joze” titanka kicafa pi. (“Józe” titanka kicaġapi.) Joseph had a house built.  
WS 1821 Psaloka wan tiyo katiye yapi. (Psaloka wan tiyo ka tiyeya pelo.) They surprised a Crow in his winter camp.

The Iron Crow winter count records that a Crow Indian was killed inside a tipi (Hassrick 1964:307). Lawrence’s Hunkpapa says that they surrounded a Crow on their way home (Lawrence 1905, 1909).

SFM A star with a long zigzag tail.

RB 1821 Wicarpi wan hoton hiyaye. (Wicaĥpi wan hoton hiyaye.) A star went by crying out.

WS 1822 Wicarpi wan hoton hiyeya. (Wicarpi wan ho ton hiya yelo.) A star went by crying out.

This was a meteor that made a whistling sound as it passed through the atmosphere. This phenomenon was recorded in the High Plains Heritage Center, High Hawk, Hardin, Garnier, Fills the Pipe, Flying Hawk, Elk Head, End of Cloud, Eaton, Iron Shell, Iron Crow, Iron Hawk, Short Man, No Ears, Kindle, Blue Thunder, Makula, No Two Horns, Good, Swan, Lone Dog, Flame, Mato Sapa, Bush, White Cow Killer, Steamboat, Good, High Dog, Lawrence’s Hunkpapa, White Bull, Swift Bear, Swift Dog, Cloud Shield, and Whiteman Stand in Sight winter counts (Beckwith 1930:358; Cohen 1942:21; Curtis 1908:172; Feraca 1971; Finster 1968:26; Grange 1963:76; Hassrick 1964:307; Howard 1960:364; Lawrence 1905, 1909; Mallery 1893:278, 317; McCreight 1947:166; Sundstrom and Halfred 1988; Waggoner 1988:12; Walker 1982:135).

SFM Picture of a man with a wounded leg.

RB 1822 “Waskula” húspan. (“Waskúla” húspan.) Peeler broke his leg.

WS 1823 Waskula hu span. (Waksku la hu span yelo.) Peeler broke his leg.

This is interesting because the man in the drawing appears to be a Lakota; other accounts say he was a white trader, nicknamed “Peeler” because he had a habit of whittling; most of the winter counts say that he froze his leg (Beckwith 1930:358; Curtis 1908:172; Feraca 1971; Finster 1968:27; Grange 1963:76; Higginbotham 1981:14; Mallery 1893:317; McCreight 1947:166; Powers 1963:29; Waggoner 1988:12; Walker 1982:135). The leg is described as broken because it was so badly frozen that it had to be amputated (Cohen 1939:17). The object next to this man is difficult to identify. Perhaps it represents the sticks the man habitually whittled.



SFM Picture of two wounded men with the Skidi Pawnee hairstyle next to a corn plant.  
 RB 1823 Wasicun ob watakpe ai; wagneza síca oti. (Wasicun ob watakpe ai; wagneza síca oti.) Together with the whites, they attached the Arikaras; much dried corn.  
 WS 1824 Wakmis sica ota. (Wakmis síca otayelo.) Much dry corn or much bad corn.

This refers to Lakotas joining Col. Leavenworth in a punitive raid on an Arikara village. The Arikaras were a northern branch of the Skidi Pawnee. The Lakotas nicknamed them “corn-biters” because they grew and traded much surplus maize. After destroying the Arikara village, the Lakota warriors raided the corn fields and corn caches; hence the reference to much bad or much dried corn (Mallery 1886:111-12). These events are recorded in the Chandler-Pohrt, Hardin, High Hawk, Thin Elk, Holy Bull, Garnier, Fills the Pipe, Flying Hawk, Kindle, Iron Crow, Iron Hawk, Lawrence’s Hunkpapa, Wounded Bear, Iron Shell, End of Cloud, Elk Head, Eaton, Blue Thunder, No Two Horns, High Dog, Swift Dog, Jaw, Good, American Horse, White Cow Killer, Lone Dog, Big Missouri, Makula, Swift Bear, Swift Dog, Steamboat, Red Horse Owner, No Ears, Short Man, Wind, and Whiteman Stands in Sight winter counts (Beckwith 1930:358; Cohen 1942:30; Curtis 1908:173; Feraca 1971; Finster 1968:27; Grange 1963:76; Hassrick 1964:307; Howard 1960:365; Karol 1969:29; Lawrence 1905, 1909; Mallery 1893:278, 319; McCreight 1947:166; Powers 1963:30; Sundstrom and Halfred 1988; Waggoner 1988:12; Walker 1982:135), albeit some with spurious interpretations.

SFM There is no picture for this entry.  
 RB 1824 “Maga wakśa” únyan ktepi. (“Maga waksa” unyan glipi.) Goose Feather was lost coming back.

The Eaton winter count gives “Goose was killed [but] returned” (Sundstrom and Halfred 1988). The End of Cloud winter count states that he returned in 1827, apparently having been given up for dead three years earlier. Lawrence’s Hunkpapa and Swift Bear winter counts also state that Goose returned after being declared dead (Lawrence 1905, 1909).

SFM There is no picture corresponding to this entry.

RB 1825-26 Mni ta pi. ([Saŋóni] Mni tapi.) The Saones (northern Lakotas) were killed in a flash flood.

An entire community of northern Lakotas drowned when an ice dam broke on the Missouri River and flooded their village at Horsehead Point. This disaster is listed in the Chandler-Pohrt, Red Horse Owner, High Hawk, Hardin, Thin Elk, Garnier, Kindle, Fills the Pipe, Holy Bull, Iron Hawk, Flying Hawk, End of Cloud, Elk Head, Eaton, Blue Thunder, No Two Horns, Swift Dog, Iron Crow, High Dog, Jaw, Flame, Swan, Lone Dog, Mato Sapa, Bush, Good, American Horse, Wounded Bear; Lawrence's Hunkpapa, Makula, Steamboat, Wind, White Cow Killer, Cloud Shield, High Hawk, Big Missouri, No Ears, Swift Dog, Short Man, Swift Bear, and Whiteman Stands in Sight winter counts (Beckwith 1930:358; Cohen 1942:30; Curtis 1908:173; Feraca 1971; Finster 1968:28; Grange 1963:76; Howard 1960:366-7; Karol 1969:29; Lawrence 1905, 1909; Mallery 1893:278, 318; McCreight 1947:166; Powers 1963:30; Sundstrom and Halfred 1988; Waggoner 1988:12; Walker 1982:135).

SFM There is no picture matching this entry from Walking on Sky.

WS 1825 Waspi hi nomb wica ktepi. (Wośpi hi nonb wica ktepelo.) Cut Tooth killed two.

SFM Drawing of a man striding forward with a large circular object, like a shield, tied to his back with a cord. Evidently this is meant to show a man dragging a load of meat home on an improvised sled.

RB 1826 Caŋ ayuślohan watokiupi. (Caŋ ayuslohan watokśupi.) They used sleds for transportation across the ice.

WS 1826 Miwatani 2 wica ktepi. (Car ayu slohan wa tokśu pelo.) They killed two Mandans. The used sleds for transportation across the ice.

“They dragged meat across the ice,” is recorded in many of the Lakota winter counts. The Lakotas similarly recorded a winter of snow and ice when they went about on snowshoes (Beckwith 1930:359; Cohen 1939:17, 1942:30; Curtis 1908:173; Feraca 1971; Finster 1968:29; Grange 1963:76; Higginbotham 1981:16; Howard 1960:367-8; Karol 1969:30; Mallery 1893:318; McCreight 1947:166; Powers 1963:30; Sundstrom and Halfred 1988; Waggoner 1988:12; Walker 1982:136). The Blue Thunder winter count and its variants record a severe winter and famine among the Santee Dakota (Howard 1960:367).

SFM Picture of wounded man inside a tipi with a gun pointing through the tipi at him.

RB 1827 Huśte'wan takośku katiye kiye. (Huśte'waŋ takóśku katiyekiye.) Lame shot his son-in-law.

WS Ka Kin yeya tonkanku katiye keye. He shot him and would not let go?

Murder or manslaughter within the tribe was always a traumatic event for the Lakotas. In a society where everyone was considered a relative, any murder disrupted the group. Murder within a family was even more an affront to basic Lakota morals. Although no details are given here, fathers were known in later times to have killed sons-in-law who

mistreated their young wives. The Big Missouri winter count specifies that a man killed his son-in-law after he became abusive to him and his daughter. The Oglala winter counts give the father-in-law's name as Spotted Face and the son-in-law's name as Walking Crow (Beckwith 1930:359; Cohen 1939:17; Curtis 1908:174; Feraca 1971; Finster 1968:30; Grange 1963:77; Higginbotham 1981:17; Karol 1969:30; Mallery 1893:319; McCreight 1947:166; Powers 1963:30; Waggoner 1988:13). The Iron Shell winter count notes that the younger man was a member of the Broken Arrow band (Hassrick 1964:307). I am not sure of the translation of Walking on Sky, but it seems to refer to a detail given in several other winter counts: that old Spotted Face clung to the corpse of his son-in-law after he shot him.

SFM Picture of three wounded men with yellow branchlike things on their heads.  
RB 1828 Miwata ni ota wicaktepi. (Miwátani ota wicaktepi.) They killed many Mandans.  
WS 1830 Miwatani 3 wicatktepi. (Miwa tani yamni wicaktepi.) They killed three Mandans.

An attack on the Mandans is recorded in the Kindle, Iron Shell, No Ears, Holy Bull, Garnier, Fills the Pipe, Steamboat, Whiteman Stands in Sight and Flying Hawk winter counts for 1828 (Beckwith 1930:359; Grange 1963:76; Hassrick 1964:307; McCreight 1947:166; Powers 1963:30; Walker 1982:136) and in the Elk Head and Makula winter counts for 1829 (Waggoner 1988:12). Most of the winter counts place this event ahead of Spotted Face killing his son-in-law. The Swift Bear winter count states that three Crows were killed (Cohen 1942:30).





SFM Drawing of a man carrying a red flag or banner

RB 1829 Wahin hun śicangu wakicaġa. (Wahinyun śicangu wakicaġa.) A Sicanju named Arrowhead conducted a ceremony.

WS 1831 Scili wan wowapi yuha ktepi. (Scili wan wowapi yuha ktepi.) A Pawnee banner bearer was killed.

For 1829, the Holy Bull winter count states that they killed a Crow man (or men) in winter. Lone Dog records that many Crows were killed in battle this year (Mallery 1893:279). The most likely interpretation of the picture is the attack on the Pawnee banner bearer. The subject of the drawing seems to sport the shaved head and long scalplock of the Pawnee warriors, although this is not shown as clearly as in other pictographs.

SFM Picture of a white buffalo with a gunshot wound in its side.

RB 1830 Tatankaptesán ota wica opi. (Tatanka ptesán ota wicáopi.) They shot many white buffalo bulls.

WS 1832 Pte san tatanka ota wila opi. (Pte san tatanka ota wica opelo.) They shot many white buffalo bulls.

The Big Missouri winter count for 1829 says that a man named Pompadour secured a white buffalo hide this year and consecrated it to the memory of his deceased son (Cohen 1939:17; Higginbotham 1981:18). For 1828, the Terasaki winter count depicts a Spirit Keeping ceremony. The Swift Bear winter count also records the Spirit Keeping, noting that the sponsor of the ceremony was Swift Bear's father (Cohen 1942:30). Iron Shell gives the man's name as Painted Arrowhead (Hassrick 1964:307). A white buffalo hide was used in the Spirit Keeping ceremony if one could be procured. For the following year Iron Shell, Big Missouri and Swift Bear, as well as many of the Oglala winter counts, record the killing of many white buffalo (Beckwith 1930:359; Cohen 1939:18, 1940:30; Curtis 1908:174; Finster 1968:31; Grange 1963:77; Hassrick 1964:307; Mallery 1893:319; McCreight 1947:166; Powers 1963:30; Waggoner 1988:12; Walker 1982:137). The pictographic Terasaki winter count specifies that nine white bison were killed that year.

In Lakota tradition, white buffalo were killed when sighted. The hide was tanned by a specially chosen virgin girl and then left on a hilltop as a religious offering. Such animals were usually not true albinos, but were light brown or tan in color.

SFM Picture of two tipis side by side.

RB 1831 “Komela” [Gomula] ob wanitipi. “Komela” ob wanitipi. Komela (Kootenai) camped with them.

WS 1833 Komela ob wanitipi. (Komela ob wanin tipipelo.) Kootenais camped with them.

The Wind-Roan Bear winter count says that they camped together with the Assiniboins, and the Big Missouri winter count says only that they camped with an enemy tribe (Cohen 1939:18; Higginbotham 1981:18). Wind gives the enemy tribe’s name as Kobena. Iron Shell records that “they camped with the Gomelas,” but does not give any clues to this tribe’s identity (Hassrick 1964:307-8). The Makula winter count states that they camped with the Kootenai in the Rocky Mountains (Waggoner 1988:13). The Terasaki winter count shows two tipis, Lakota and enemy, pitched side by side.

SFM Picture of a man with a bifurcated penis.

RB 1832 Mato bloka Omaha wa kte. “Mato bloka” Omaha waŋ kte. Male Bear killed an Omaha.

WS 1832 Ceklara tilo. (Kla ra tilo.) Curly Penis died.

The Iron Shell winter count names this year “Tie-His-Penis-in-a-Knot died” (Hassrick 1964:308). This and Walking on Sky are the best interpretation of the picture.



SFM Drawing of a circle filled with stars.

RB 1833 Wicaŋpi okicamna. (Wicaŋpi okicamna.) The storm of stars.

WS 1834 Wicarpi okica mnanyhelo. (Wicarpi okica mnanyelo.) Storm of stars.

This refers to the spectacular Leonid meteor shower of November 1833, which has been described as a blizzard of falling stars. This event caused great anxiety among the Lakota people, who viewed the heavens as an orderly world that mirrored their own. This event occurs in nearly all winter counts and thus serves as a starting point for determining the years covered by a particular winter count (Howard 1960:371; Mallery 1893:320).

SFM Drawing of a yellow-beaked bird with a wound at the chest.

RB 1834 (Sahiyelu) wanbli kuwa wan ktepi. (Wanbli kuwa [Śiyela] wan ktepi.) The Cheyenne eagle hunter was killed.

WS 1835 Wanbli kuwa wan ktepi. (Wanbli kuwa wan ktepelu.) Chasing Eagle was killed.

The Iron Shell winter count says that an eagle hunter was killed (Hassrick 1964:308); this phrase and “Chasing Eagle was killed” are the same in Lakota. The pictgraph may be intended for an eagle, although it is not a convincing one.

SFM Picture of two men with Pawnee hairstyle and Pawnee moccasins wounded in the chest and carrying banners.

RB 1835-36 [Scili] wowapi yuha nunp wicaktepi. Wowapi yuha nunp [Scili] wicaktepi. Two Pawnee banner bearers were killed.

WS 1836 Wowopi yuha 2 wicaktepi. They killed two flag bearers.

The Hardin and Good winter counts depict two Pawnee war-party leaders impaled by arrows (Finster 1968:33; Mallery 1893:320). The High Hawk winter count names the year “two Scili leaders killed” (Curtis 1908:174). The Iron Shell winter count records the killing of two Pawnees who carried flags (Hassrick 1964:308). An incomplete and unidentified Hunkapa or Yanktonai winter count on file in the archives of Oglala Lakota College states for 1836 that a contingent of peace-makers was eliminated, but it does not give their tribal identity. The Chandler-Pohrt winter count states that the slain peace-makers were Yanktonais killed by a combined force of Mandans and Arikaras. This picture probably refers to the killing of the two Skidi Pawnee banner bearers, although their identify as Pawnees is not clearly shown. “Scili” and Skiri” are alternative pronunciations for the Lakota/Dakota term for the northern Pawnee.

SFM A ladderlike feature with a blue center band and dark parallel lines extending from both sides of it. This represents a river with arrow-fire coming from each side.

RB 1836 Caŕ akici inpi [on Platte River]. (Caŕ akiciŋpi [Platte River].) They fought each other across the ice.

WS 1837 Car akicin nipi. (Car akici in pelu.) They fought across the ice.

This refers to a battle in which Skidi Pawnees and southern Lakotas found each other across the frozen Platte River. This is recorded in the Brown Wolf, High Hawk, Hardin, Garnier, Fills the Pipe, Red Horse Owner, Thin Elk, Holy Bull, Flying Hawk, End of



Cloud, Elk Head, Iron Hawk, Iron Shell, Big Missouri, Good, American Horse, Cloud Shield, White Cow Killer, Iron Crow, High Hawk, Swift Bear, No Ears, Short Man, Steamboat, White Bull, Whiteman Stands in Sight, Terasaki, Makula, Wounded Bear; Vestal's White Bull, and Vestal's Hunkpapa winter counts (Cohen 1939:18, 1942:31; Curtis 1908:174; Feraca 1971; Finster 1968:34; Grange 1963:77; Hassrick 1964:308, Howard 1960:373; Ironhawk 1936; Karol 1969:32; Mallery 1893:320; McCreight 1947:166; Powers 1963:30; Vestal 1934b:264; Waggoner 1988:13; Walker 1982:138). It was unusual to have a battle in winter, but during this period the Lakotas were fighting fiercely for control of the rich hunting grounds along the North Platte (Hyde 1937:43-55, 1961:32; Mallery 1893:320).

SFM Drawing of a man with a wound and possibly something impaling his chest. He wears the long straight hair of the Lakota men.

RB 1837 Wan naweġa wicaktepi. (Wan naweġa wicaktepi.) The Broken Arrow band was killed.

WS 1838 Wan nan wega eya wicaktepi. (Wan nanwega nonb wicaktepelo.) Two Broken Arrows were killed.

The Big Missouri winter count records that the entire Broken Arrow band was killed in a raid this year (Cohen 1939:18). The Hardin winter count depicts a Lakota man with his hands held apart and an arrow impaling him in the torso. This was interpreted as "Spread Out" was killed, the man's posture indicating his name (Finster 1968:34). The death of Spread Out is also recorded in the Good winter count (Mallery 1893:320.) The High Hawk winter count records a fight among members of the Broken Arrow band (Curtis 1908:175). Iron Shell says only "Killed many Broken Arrows" (Hassrick 1964:308). Makula states that a member of the Keze (fishhook) band was killed in 1839 (Waggoner 1988:13). The Thin Elk winter count records that many Broken Arrow men were killed. It is not clear which of these events is recorded by the pictograph.





SFM Drawing of three rather amorphous heads and torsos.

RB 1838 Śunknáskinyan cincá ahiktepi. (Śungnáskinyan cincá ahiktepi.) Mad Wolf's son was killed in battle.

WS 1839 Gata wicaktepi. (Gata wica ktepelo.) They killed the "Gatas"--perhaps the Plains Apaches.

Vestal's White Bull winter count records that the Lakotas killed three Assinboins this year (Vestal 1934b:265). Gattaka was a term for the group known as the Kiowa-Apache, Plains Apache, or Naishan Dene.

SFM This picture shows a Lakota man holding the head of a horse or mule in his outstretched hand.

RB 1840 Watákpe wica akikan. (Watakpe wica akihan.) They attacked while starving.

WS 1840 Sonsonla yutapi wica kiran on. (Śon Śonla yutapeolo.) Has a Mule Head died of smallpox.

This event is not recorded in the other winter counts.

SFM Picture of upper body of five wounded men.

RB 1840 Hokśila zaptan ahiwicaktepi. (Hokśila zaptan ahiwicaktepi.) Five young men were killed together.

WS 1841 Wakinyan cigala sinka ku 5 wicaktepi. (Wakinyan Cigala Sonka ku 5 wicaktepi.) Little Thunder's five sons were murdered.

The Kindle, No Ears, Whiteman Stands in Sight, Garnier, and Flying Hawk winter counts record the death of two brothers of Little Thunder in a battle against the Crows (Beckwith 1930:360; Grange 1963:77; Powers 1963:30; Walker 1982:139). The Hardin winter count shows a wounded man and five hash marks, showing agreement in number with the picture shown here (Finster 1968:36). The High Hawk winter count also gives five, but says they were members of Little Thunder's band, not that they were brothers (Curtis 1908:175). Iron Shell, Good, and Swift Bear agree with the St. Francis winter count in stating that five brothers were killed (Cohen 1942:31; Mallery 1893:321). According to Iron Shell, they were killed and scalped while they slept (Hassrick 1964:308). Makula says that the five brothers were guided home; however, this translation seems incorrect (Waggoner 1988:13). The pictographic Terasaki winter count shows five men, including two leaders, killed by enemies.

SFM Drawing of a Lakota and a Pawnee surrounded by horse tracks.

RB 1841 Kipázo wayaka wan akli. (Kipázo [Lakota] wayaka wan agli.) Pointer held a Spirit Keeping ceremony.

WS 1842 Kipazo sonk ma non nan wayaka ko okciye. (Kipazo Śonk ma non wayaka ko akliye.) Pointer held a Spirit Keeping ceremony.

Thin Elk, No Ears, Holy Bull and Whiteman Stands in Sight recorded that Feather Earring brought back spotted horses in 1840 and killed a Crow horse thief in 1842 (Powers 1963:30; Walker 1982:140). For 1840, Iron Crow states that the Lakotas brought back a hundred horses. Iron Hawk says that the Sans Arcs (Itazipco) brought back many horses (Ironhawk 1936). The Brown Wolf winter count shows a warrior counting coup on three horses. Iron Shell says that the Lakota stole many horses from the Shoshonis this year (Hassrick 1964:308). The Good winter count states that Pointer held a Spirit Keeping and that snow was deep that winter (Mallery 1893:321). The Thin Elk winter count records a ceremony conducted by One Feather. None of these year names matches the picture which clearly shows a battle between Lakota and Pawnee horse raiders. The Pawnee can be identified by his high-topped moccasins and the Lakota by his long straight hair.

SFM Drawing of two human profiles.

RB 1842 Hoksila nump iwakte wicaketpi. (Hokśila nump iwakte wicaglipi.) Two young men were killed on their way back home.

WS 1843 Sena waya ka aklipi. (Śenan aklipele.) They brought back “Sena” captives.

According to the Whiteman Stands in Sight winter count, a group of warriors were playing an arrow game when they found a woman. She was a Lakota who had been returned to her people by her captors (Powers 1963:31-31). She had been captured in 1837 by the Skidi Pawnee who intended to sacrifice her during their Morning Star ceremony. The Flying Hawk and Garnier winter counts name this year “when they brought in captives” (Grange 1963:77; McCreight 1947:167). The Iron Shell winter counts says that the Lakotas brought home a Pawnee boy called “Shena” (Hassrick 1964:308). Sena or Shena appears to be a variation of the Lakota word for Cheyenne. This year name may also refer to the Cheyenne sacred arrows, which the Lakotas retrieved from the Pawnees in 1843 (cf. Walker 1982:140). The Kindle winter count says that they brought home captives (Beckwith 1930:360).





SFM Drawing of two arrows.

RB 1843 Wawakan akli pi [of Wh. Ck.]. (Wawákan aglipi [of Wh. Ck.].) They returned a sacred arrow.

WS 1844 Wan wakan kagapi. (Wan wakan kagapelo.) They returned a sacred arrow.

The return of the Cheyenne's sacred arrow, which the Lakotas ransomed from the Pawnee, is recorded in the Good, Red Horse Owner, Wounded Bear, Swift Bear, Iron Shell, Swift Bear and High Plains Heritage Center winter counts (Cohen 1939:18, 1942:29; Feraca 1971; Hassrick 1964:308; Karol 1969:33; Mallery 1893:322). The Cheyennes had taken their two sacred "man" or war arrows into battle against the Skidi Pawnees. These, together with two "buffalo" or hunting arrows, were the sacred palladium of the Tsistsistsas division of the Cheyenne nation. The Pawnees managed to capture the sacred war arrows to the great consternation of the Cheyennes. Later the Brule Lakotas were able to recover one of the two arrows from the Pawnees and return it to their Cheyenne allies (Powell 1969:32-61).

SFM Drawing of a mule head.

RB 1844 Śónśon atku kata. (Śuŋśuŋ atkuku ta.) Mule's father died.

WS 1845 Son son atka ku ta. (Śónśon atku ku telo.) Mule's father died.

The death of Mule's father is also recorded in the Swift Bear winter count (Cohen 1942:29).

SFM Picture of a person with long, Lakota-style hair and no arms. A careful look at the picture on canvas reveals a couple of pox marks.

RB 1845-46 Nawića śli. (Nawicaśli.) Measles.

WS 1846 Nan wicasliye. (Nan wica śliyelo.) Measles.

Most of the Lakota winter counts record this epidemic; however they vary in specifics (Beckwith 1930:360; Cohen 1942:29; Curtis 1908:175; Feraca 1971; Finster 1968:38; Grange 1963:77; Hassrick 1964:309; Howard 1960:377; Mallery 1893:322; Powers 1963:31; Sundstrom and Halfred 1988; Vestal 1934a:348; Walker 1982:140; Young Bear 1987:781). The Cranbrook winter count notes that only the children were sick (Praus 1962:16); however, the picture here clearly shows an adult.

Although the “šli” suffix connotes oozing, and thus would be the logical term for ulcerative skin eruptions like smallpox and chickenpox, the term is used for both smallpox and measles. Wicahanhan is also used for smallpox.

SFM A picture of a naked person with hair in braids and wounded in the crotch.  
RB 1846 Wicaške kağapa. (Wicicaške kağapi.) They made ornaments of long strips.  
WS 1847 Winyan wan iciknipi; ra na kat'iyoyapi. (Winyan wan icikni ktelo.) A woman was killed in a domestic violence incident.

The year name from Walking on Sky seems to match the drawing of a person with the woman's hairstyle severely wounded in the crotch area. Angry husbands were known to punish unfaithful wives by shooting them in the vagina. The Iron Shell and Swift Bear winter counts provide the most plausible interpretation of the picture, stating that a man discovered his unfaithful wife in another man's tipi, brought her home, and shot her in the vagina (Cohen 1942:29; Hassrick 1964:309).

SFM Drawing of a crow (bird) with the tail of an eagle and impaled by a knife.  
RB 1847 Kangi wanbli capapi. (Kangi wanbli capapi.) Eagle Crow was stabbed.  
WS 1848 Kangi wanbli capapi. (Kangi wanbli capapelo.) Eagle Crow was stabbed.

The stabbing of Eagle Crow is recorded in the No Ears, Short Man, Spider, Kindle, Garnier, Thin Elk, and Iron Shell winter counts (Beckwith 1930:361; Grange 1963:77; Hassrick 1964:309; Walker 1982:140; Young Bear 1987:781). The Terasaki winter count depicts a man with the name glyph Eagle Crow counting coup on a woman.



SFM A picture of horse tracks surrounding a wounded Crow Indian.

RB 1848 Psaloka \_\_\_ [sunk?] ma nunpi tanka. (Psaloka sunkmanompi tanka.) Crows attempted a big horse raid.

WS 1849 Psa sonk wan nonpi tanka. (Psa Sonk mannonpi tankayelo.) Crows had a big horse raid.

The terms *psa*, *psaloka*, and *kanji* are all used for the Crow or Absoroka Indians. According to the Lakota winter counts, a Crow *winkte* (a man who adopted women's ways) was captured when Lakota warriors chased a party of horse raiders. They discovered her to be biologically male and killed her (Beckwith 1930:361; Cohen 1942:29; Curtis 1908:176; Feraca 1971; Finster 1968:40; Grange 1963:77; Karol 1969:34; Mallery 1893:323; Walker 1982:141; Young Bear 1987:781). The Terasaki winter count shows arrow- and gunfire aimed at a man in a dress. Horse prints near him show that he is on a horse raid. Nothing in the St. Francis Mission winter count picture suggests mixed gender identity, so it is likely that the picture refers to the Crows' big horse raid. A large horse raid by the Crows is recorded for 1848 in the Holy Bull and Iron Shell winter counts (Hassrick 1964:309). Lone Dog recalled that the Crows took 800 horses from the Sicanju herd (Mallery 1893:282).

SFM A Crow Indian inside a circle with shots coming toward him.

RB 1849 Psa wanjila ktepi. (Psa wanjila ktepi.) A lone Crow was killed.

WS 1850 Psaloka maya onunjin wicayapi. (Manya onanji wicayapelo.) A Crow was killed while wandering under a bank.

The Hardin winter count shows a picture of a butte with arrows coming toward it in all directions. This was interpreted as "brought the Crows to a stand" (Finster 1968:40), following the Good winter count (Mallery 1893:323). The pictographic Short Bull winter count shows a Crow warrior inside a circle, also interpreted as when they brought the Crows to a stand. High Hawk recorded an attack on some Crows at a bluff (Curtis 1908:176). The Iron Shell winter count records that the Crows cornered a Lakota war party in a bank (Hassrick 1964:309). The Makula winter count states that 30 Crows were killed (Waggoner 1988:13).

SFM A drawing of a person with long, Lakota-style hair and a rash.

RB 1850 Wicaranhan ob. (Wicahanhan ob.) Smallpox epidemic.

WS 1851 Wicaranra kujapi. (Nanwica sliye.) They were sick with smallpox or measles.

Epidemic smallpox was recorded in the Good, Red Horse Owner, Short Man, No Ears, Iron Crow, Iron Shell, Wounded Bear, High Hawk, Hardin, Garnier, Kindle, Big Missouri, Spider, and Whiteman Stands in Sight winter counts (Beckwith 1930:361; Cohen 1939:18; Curtis 1908:176; Feraca 1971; Finster 1968:41; Grange 1963:77; Hassrick 1964:309; Karol 1969:34; Mallery 1893:323; Powers 1963:31; Walker 1982:141; Young Bear 1987:781).

SFM Picture of a square enclosure with various colored objects inside.

RB 1851-52 Wakpamni pi tanka. (Wakpamnipi tanka.) A big distribution.

WS 1852 Wakpa mnipi tanka. (Wakpa mnipi tankayelo.) A big distribution.

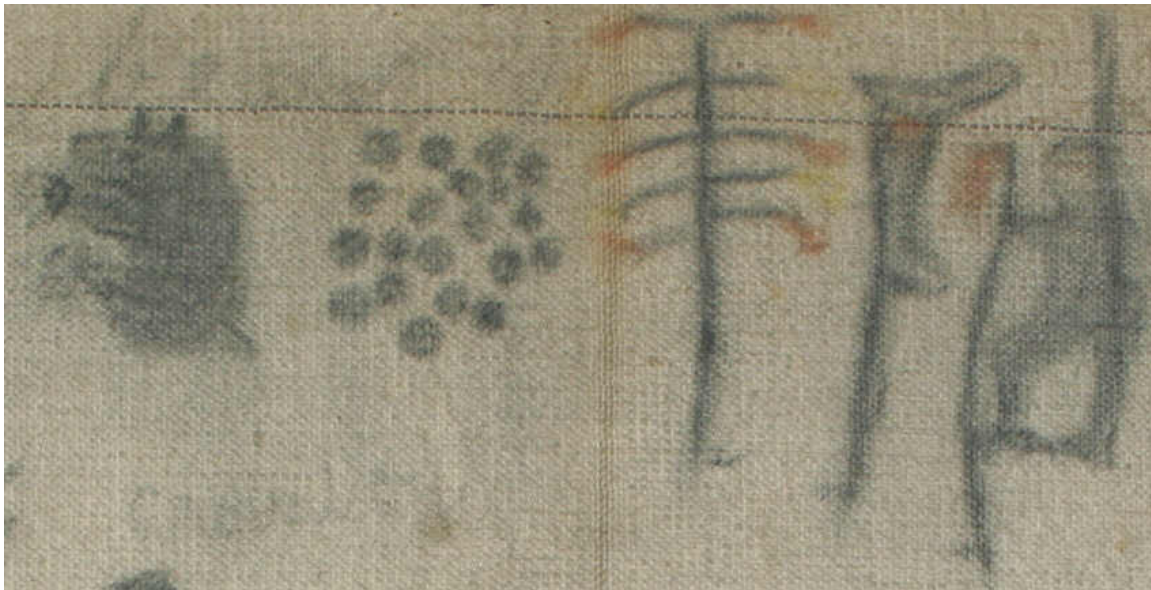
This refers to the Fort Laramie treaty conference of 1851. This event is recorded in nearly all of the Lakota winter counts (Cohen 1939:18; Curtis 1908:176; Feraca 1971; Finster 1968:41; Grange 1963:77; Hassrick 1964:309; Karol 1969:35; Mallery 1893:283, 323; McCreight 1947:167; Powers 1963:31; Sundstrom and Halfred 1988; Vestal 1934a:349, 1934b:266; Waggoner 1988:13; Walker 1982:141; Young Bear 1987:781).

SFM Drawing of a semirectangular object with horizontal stripes.

RB 1852 Waniyetu waśma. (Waniyetu waśma.) Deep snow winter.

WS 1853 Waniyetu wa sme. (Waniyetu waśmelo.) Winter of deep snow.

The picture is difficult to identify. Perhaps it is a poor representation of a snowshoe. Most of the northern and southern Lakota winter counts mention very deep snow for this year (Beckwith 1930:361; Grange 1963:77; Hassrick 1964:309; Howard 1960:381; McCreight 1947:167; Vestal 1934b:266; Waggoner 1988:13; Young Bear 1987:781). Good, Hardin, Big Missouri, and Whiteman Stands in Sight say that many horses died from the cold (Cohen 1939:18; Finster 1968:42; Mallery 1893:323; Powers 1963:31). The Holy Bull and Lone Dog winter counts say that Joe Jordon brought Navajo blankets to trade this year. The Thin Elk, Iron Hawk, Terasaki, and Vestal's White Bull winter counts give the same event for 1853-54 (Ironhawk 1936; Mallery 1893:283; Vestal 1934b:266); however, this event is given for 1858 in other winter counts.





SFM Drawing of a bear.

RB 1853 “Rna” ta. (“Hna” te.) Grunts-Like-a-Bear died.

WS 1854 Mato ocinsica ta. (Manto o Cínsica telo.) Cross Bear died.

For 1854, the Oglala winter counts record that Brave Bear or Conquering Bear was killed in battle (Beckwith 1930:361; Feraca 1971; Howard 1960:383; Karol 1969:35; Mallery 1893:283; McCreight 1947:167; Powers 1963:31; Walker 1982:142; Young Bear 1987:781). This was the famous Grattan fight, when a contingent of soldiers from Fort Laramie assassinated Chief Conquering Bear in front of his people because he refused to surrender a young warrior accused of stealing a cow from an emigrant wagon train. The warriors killed the entire command of 30 soldiers and officers. The northern Lakota Elk Head winter count also records this event. Other winter counts record the death of Cross Bear (i.e. Ill-Tempered Bear) for this year; he froze to death while hunting (Curtis 1908:176; Hardin 1968:42; Hassrick 1964:30; Mallery 1893:324). For the preceding year, several winter counts refer to a bear coming into camp (Beckwith 1930:361; Grange 1963:77; McCreight 1947:167; Powers 1963:31; Young Bear 1987:781; Walker 1982:141). This intruder was said to have “raped a virgin,” probably meaning that the bear touched the young woman on her legs or genitals, just as a young man might do if the girl were not properly chaperoned. Lastly, the Swift Dog winter count records that a Crow killed Bear Heart in 1854-55.

SFM Cluster of 20 solidly-colored disks.

RB 1854 Maziska ota. (Mazaska ota.) Much money.

WS 1855 Mazaska ota yelo. (Manzaska otayelo.) Much money.

A treaty payment of \$20 is recorded in the Big Missouri winter count (Cohen 1939:18). The Iron Shell winter count names the year “much money” (Hassrick 1964:309).

SFM Picture of a tree with colored banners at the end of each branch.

RB 1855 Śina winye ota. (Śina winye ota.) Many shawls or pieces of cloth.

WS 1856 Sinan wiyeya ota yelo. (Śinan klega otayelo.) Many pieces of calico.



According to the Good, Hardin, and High Hawk winter counts, the Oglalas made many offerings of cloth this year (Curtis 1908:177; Finster 1968:43; Mallery 1893:324). Iron Shell records that they made many offerings of red flannel cloth (Hassrick 1964:309).

SFM Picture of an anvil-shaped object, perhaps intended for a side of meat.

RB 1856 “Waksaksa” ta. (“Waksáksa” ta.) Cut-Up died.

WS 1857 Waksa ksa telo. (Waksa ksa telo.) Cut Up died.

SFM Drawing of a man holding a banner next to a bank or pole.

RB 1857 Tatank ta te ai [Wh. Ck.] (Tatank tate ai.) Chasing Bull died, or they hunted only bulls.

WS 1858 Omaha husli wakica gelo. (Omaha hu śli wakica gelo.) Omaha Shin performed a ceremony.

The Hardin winter count shows a picture of a butte with a pole or banner next to it. Although this was interpreted as “Bad Four Bear traded for furs all winter” (Finster 1968:44), this seems inconsistent with the picture. According to High Hawk and Good, this trader set up operations at the base of the bluffs near Ft. Robinson (Curtis 1908:177). This year name does not seem to match the pictograph.



SFM Drawing of a striped blanket.

RB 1858 Wakmaza yuha wa kicařagapi. (Wagmeza yuha wakicařagapi.) A Corn Owner held a ceremony.

WS 1859 Sinan kle ga atayelo. (řinan klega otayelo.) Many blankets with designs on them.

The Hardin winter count depicts a patterned blanket, probably referring to the importation of Navajo blankets by one of the white traders (Finster 1968:45). This probably is the meaning of the pictograph shown here.

SFM Drawing of a crow (bird) wounded in the torso.

RB 1859 Kanřin tanka ahiktepi. (“Kanři tanka” ahiktepi.) Big Crow was killed in battle.

WS 1860 Kangi tanka ahi ktepi. (Kangi tanka wica ktepelo.) Big Crow was killed in battle.

The death of Big Crow is recorded in the Short Bull, Brown Wolf, Lawrence’s Hunkpapa, Steamboat, No Ears, Short Man, Kindle, Iron Shell, Lone Dog, Holy Bull, High Hawk, Hardin, Garnier, Red Horse Owner, Spider, Flying Hawk, Vestal’s Hunkpapa, Vestal’s White Bull, Thin Elk, Elk Head and End of Cloud winter counts (Beckwith 1930:362; Curtis 1908:178; Finster 1968:45; Grange 1963:77; Hassrick 1964:309; Karol 1969:36; Lawrence 1905, 1909; Mallery 1893:284; McCreight 1947:167; Vestal 1934a:349, 1934b:266; Waggoner 1988:13; Walker 1982:143; Young Bear 1987:781). The Terasaki winter count shows Big Crow’s body next to a series of horse prints, indicating that he was killed by horse raiders or while raiding horses himself.

SFM Picture of a person with long hair, a bear paw name glyph and a wound at the neck.

RB 1860 Hokřicala sotapi. (Hokřicala sotapi.) The babies were “used up” (sickness).

WS 1861 Mato kak\_\_ge ahi ktepi. (Manto kawinge ahi ktepelo.) Turning Bear was killed in battle.

The Iron Shell winter count records the death in battle of a famous warrior called Turning Bear (Hassrick 1964:310). This would appear to be the correct interpretation of the pictograph shown here.

SFM Picture of two tipis with wound signs on them

RB 1861 Hanska tiyápa ktepi. (ři hanska tiyápa ktepi.) Long Foot’s camp was killed.

WS 1862 Sihan ska ska ti apa ktepi. (Si han ska sak ti apa ktepelo.) Long Foot’s camp was killed.

The Iron Shell winter count states that Long Foot’s entire camp was killed this year (Hassrick 1964:310). The Vestal’s White Bull, Brown Wolf, and Elk Head winter counts record that a Lakota war party attacked several Crows in a red tipi (Vestal 1934b:266). The Short Bull winter count depicts a brownish red tipi with four arrows superimposed over it. It is not clear which of these events is depicted here.

SFM Picture of a tipi among trees.

RB 1862 Hokšila wan tiwekna ahiwašpapi. (Hokšila waŋ tiwegna ahiwa špapi.) A boy was cut to pieces near the camp.

WS 1862 Canku kle el wicatiyelo. (Can kle kle el wicotiyelo.) Camped at a place with scattered trees.

According to the Iron Shell winter count, the Sicanju placed their winter camp in an area with few trees this year (Hassrick 1964:310). The Makula winter count for 1864 records that the winter camp was at Big Cherry Tree (Waggoner 1988:14).



SFM Two persons; one has some sort of staff.

RB 1863 Owáci nablece. (Owáci nablece.) A dance was broken up.

WS 1864 Owaci wan bleca. A dance was broken up.

The Hardin winter count has a picture of a Lakota man with a small banner staff. This was interpreted as “Roaster performed a spirit keeping ceremony” (Finster 1968:48), based on comparison with the High Hawk and Good winter counts (Curtis 1908:178; Mallery 1893:325). For 1862, the Iron Crow winter count says that some Lakota warriors found a Pawnee scalp and tried to claim a war honor with it. The Iron Hawk winter count records that they revived the Dog Feast this year (Ironhawk 1936). The Iron Shell winter count states that a dance was broken up, explaining that a large group of Lakotas

suddenly dispersed (Hassrick 1964:310). The Wounded Bear winter count records that a Pawnee husband and wife were killed together (Feraca 1971). It is unclear which event is depicted here.

SFM Person with long, Lakota-style hair with wound in the torso and shown inside a frame or log house.

RB 1864 Tašunke hiŋša wašicu ktepi. (Tašunke hiŋša wašicuŋ ktepi.) Red-haired American Horse was killed.

WS 1865 Irarpaya ko ileyapi. (Ira rpaya ko ileyapelo.) One who laughs was burned.

An explanation for this picture comes from the Iron Shell winter count. This gives the year name as “Laughs as He Lies Down burned up.” An interpreter with this nickname was killed when Lakotas or Cheyennes set fire to a trading post on the south bank of the Platte River that was selling liquor to Indians (Hassrick 1964:310). The Terasaki winter count depicts a white man with a bird name glyph next to a burning house.

SFM Picture of a white man in uniform and with an antler name-glyph above his head.

RB 1865-66 [Whiteman] “Harca ota” olákot kage. (“Harca ota” [whiteman] olákot kage.) Many Deer [Maynadier] made an agreement with the people.

WS 1866 Tarca ota olakol kagelo. (Tarca ota olakol kagelo.) Many Deer made an agreement with the Lakota people.

This refers to treaty councils at Fort Sully and Fort Rice, Dakota Territory, in October 1865 held by the Edmunds Commission. The chief negotiator was Brevet Major General Henry Eveleth Maynadier.

SFM Drawing of a tipi on top of a hill.

RB 1866 Wašicu opawinge wica ktepi. Paha aka wanitipi. (Wašicuŋ opawinge wicaktepi. Paha akan wanitipi. They killed 100 white men; On the Hill or a mountain dweller camped with them.

WS 1867 Wasicun opa winge wicaktepi. (Tiska ka sotapelo.) They killed a hundred white men. Tipi or tendon was made smoky?

The Fetterman fight is recorded in the Brown Wolf, Short Bull, Kindle, Holy Bull, Iron Hawk, High Plains Heritage Center, Garnier, Fills the Pipe, Flying Hawk, End of Cloud, Steamboat, Spider, Elk Head, American Horse, High Hawk, Makula, No Ears, Short Man, Terasaki, Thin Elk, White Bull, Whiteman Stands in Sight, Vestal’s White Bull, and Vestal’s Hunkpapa winter counts (Beckwith 1930:363; Curtis 1908:179; Grange 1963:77; Howard 1960; Ironhawk 1936; Mallery 1886, 1893; McCreight 1947:168; Powers 1963:32; Vestal 1934a:350; Vestal 1934b:267; Waggoner 1988:14; Walker 1982:145; Young Bear 1987:781). The tipi drawing probably refers to a Shoshone taking refuge among the Lakotas that winter. The Shoshones were nicknamed mountain dwellers. Some of the winter counts say that this Shoshone was killed. This event is recorded in the Flying Hawk, Makula, and Garnier winter count (Grange 1963:77; Waggoner 1988:14; Young Bear 1987:781). The Iron Shell winter count states only that the Sicanjus camped on a hill (Hassrick 1964:310). The Red Horse Owner winter count

shows a tipi and the notation “They left the tipi and ran away” (Karol 1969:38). The Iron Crow winter count seems to record the same event as “They abandoned their packs at the Flint River” (Walker 1982:145). A Lakota and Cheyenne band left their belongings behind because U.S. troops were pursuing them. The pictograph shown here probably refers to the Shoshones camping among them.

SFM Picture of a Lakota man with a warbonnet counting coup on a wounded Pawnee.  
RB 1867 Omaha ob kiciga ju. (Omaha ob kicigapi.) They attacked the Omaha.  
WS 1868 Reska el mas’ opiye yuha 2 wicaktepi. (Manto kawinge Omaha wankte.) They killed two people with metal boxes in the Big Horn Mountains. Turning Bear was killed by an Omaha.

The Iron Shell winter count states that the Lakotas fought with the Omaha this year (Hassrick 1964:310). Red Horse Owner records the killing of a man with a multicolored warbonnet for 1868 and the killing of an Omaha for 1869 (Karol 1969:62). Iron Crow records the killing of the warrior with the colorful warbonnet; he was the Cheyenne chief Roman Nose, killed at the Beecher Island Fight (Walker 1982:146).



SFM Woman with braids and a fish glyph over her head.  
RB 1868 Hogan tawican ta. (Hogan tawican ta.) Fish’s wife died.  
WS 1869 15 ahi wicaktepi. Fifteen were killed in battle.

For 1869, the Brown Wolf, Short Man, Kindle, No Ears, Short Man, Red Horse Owner, Holy Bull, Garnier, Spider, Whiteman Stands in Sight, Terasaki, and Flying Hawk winter counts record the death of an elderly Minneconjou woman, the mother of Flat Iron, when a tree fell on her tipi (Beckwith 1930:363; Curtis 1908:179; Finster 1968:50; Grange 1963:77; Karol 1969:38; Mallery 1893:326; McCreight 1947: 168; Walker 1982:146; Young Bear 1987:781). Like Ring Bull, Iron Hawk identified the woman as Fish’s wife (Hassrick 1964:310; Ironhawk 1936). The Swift Dog, Elk Head, and End of Cloud winter counts perhaps refer to the same accident, recording that a woman died of a broken leg and that ice coated everything that winter. However, the Fills the Pipe and Steamboat

winter counts give these as separate events: a woman's leg was broken in 1866 and a tree fell on an elderly woman in 1868.

SFM Three tipis. On the canvas version, the tipis are colored black.

RB 1869-70 Unpa wi ta. (Anpa wi [wan] te.) The sun died. (Solar eclipse)

WS 1870 Winyan rcala wan cakate. (Wi non rcala wan can katepelo.) An elderly woman was killed by a tree.

An eclipse is also recorded in the Lone Dog and Iron Shell winter counts (Hassrick 1964:310; Mallery 1893:286) and possibly in the Chandler-Pohrt winter count. The pictographic Terasaki winter count records the eclipse as a black sun surrounded by stars. This seems the most likely meaning of the pictograph of the dark tipis.

SFM Many horse tracks beside a lake or other body of water.

RB 1870 Ota apela ahiktepi. ("Ota apela" ahiktepi.) Many Strikes was killed in battle.

WS 1871 Canku wankatuya ahi ktepi. High Backbone was killed in battle.

For 1870, the Blue Thunder winter counts and its variants record the loss of many horses in a flood of the Grand River. The same event may be recorded in the Eaton and End of Cloud winter counts, which say only the horses were "used up," meaning all of them died (Sundstrom and Halfred 1988). The Fills the Pipe winter count notes that two horse thieves were killed in 1871. This is no doubt the meaning of the pictograph shown here.

SFM Hill or cave with two red flags on it.

RB 1871 Kipa zo pte hi ko. (Kipázo ptéhiko.) Pointer said buffalo would come quickly. (A buffalo calling ceremony.)

WS 1872 Kipazo pte hiko. Pointer called the buffalo.

Bison and other game animals were believed to retreat to a world under the earth if their spirits were offended by people's behavior. The people would make prayers and offerings at caves or other openings to such places to entreat the animals to return to the earth. Pointer's buffalo calling ceremony was recorded in the Iron Crow winter count for 1871 with the note, "[he] promised them but [they] did not come" (Walker 1982:146). Iron Shell also states that the buffalo calling ceremony failed (Hassrick 1964:310-11).





SFM Woman inside a dark circle, apparently intended for water  
 RB 1872 “Ptehila” mnita. (“Ptehila” mnita.) Cow Tooth drowned.  
 WS 1873 Pte hila mnita. (Pte hi ko pelo.) Cow Tooth drowned.

Cow Tooth was an elderly woman who fell from a bank and drowned in the river. This event is recorded in the Iron Shell winter count, although it gives the woman’s name as Horn. Iron Shell noted that she was highly respected among her people (Hassrick 1964:311).

SFM Five wounded persons with Pawnee hair.  
 RB 1873-74 Sicli ota wicaktepi. (Sicli ota wicaktepi.) They killed many Pawnees.  
 WS 1874 Scili ti opa wicaktepi. (Iklak hi wicaktepelo.) Moves Camp was killed arriving, or they killed those moving back to camp. They killed many Pawnees.

The Short Man, Thin Elk, High Hawk and Iron Shell winter counts record the killing of many Pawnees this year (Curtis 1908:179; Hassrick 1964:311; Walker 1982:147). Iron Crow says the Lakotas killed 100 Pawnees (Walker 1982:147).

SFM Dark skinned Indian surrounded by horse tracks.  
 RB 1874-75 Sapa wicasa [Utes] šunkma [indecipherable] wakeya pagmu\_pi kpannipi.  
 (Sapa wicaša [Utes] šunkmanopi.) The Utes came and stole many horses.  
 WS 1875 Saba wicasa sonk man nonpi. (Saba wicaša šonk mannonpelo.) Utes stole two horses.

Utes were referred to as “black people” in Lakota. The Hardin winter count has a picture of a person colored black holding a horse quirt and standing behind a series of horse tracks (Finster 1968:53). This refers to the Utes’ horse raid against the Lakotas, recorded in the Good, High Hawk, Wounded Bear, Red Horse Owner, Iron Crow, and Iron Shell winter counts (Curtis 1908:180; Feraca 1971; Hassrick 1964:311; Karol 1969:39; Mallery 1893:327; Walker 1982:147). The Terasaki winter count, like the St. Francis Mission winter count, shows a dark skinned Indian next to horse prints, clearly referring to the Ute horse raid.

SFM A black bird with a red banner  
 RB 1875 Mata kleska ahiktepi. (Matogleška ahiktepi.) Wakeya pagnunpi kpannipi.  
 Spotted Bear was killed in battle. They had two give-aways in a tent.  
 WS 1876 Kangi wakila ga. (Kangi wakicagelo.) Crow had a ceremony. (The picture indicates a person named Crow, rather than a Crow Indian.)

The Short Bull winter count depicts a man with a crow's head firing a rifle at a Crow warrior. This was interpreted as "when Crow Head killed a Crow horse thief," listed in the Ironhawk winter count for 1875. The event is not mentioned in any of the other winter counts.

SFM Picture of two clasped hands.

RB 1876-77 Pahinhanska ketpi. Olakot kaḡapi. (Pehinhanska [Custer] ktepi. Olakot kaḡapi.) Long Hair was killed. The Lakotas surrendered.

WS 1877 Olakol kar cu wazyata. (Wazyata olakol kar aiyelo.) Lakotas made an agreement in the north.

The picture refers to the Lakota bands coming into the agencies to surrender or to Sitting Bull treating with Canadian authorities for refuge for his band. The Sitting Bull treaty is recorded in the High Dog, Swift Dog, Vestal's Hunkpapa, and Jaw (including variants) winter counts (Howard 1960:396; Vestal 1934a:350). For 1875, Iron Shell lists "Black Hills Treaty" (Hassrick 1964:311). Red Horse Owner says the [Lakota] people came back, but relates this to making peace with the Utes (Karol 1969:39, 62). It seems more likely that this refers to the Lakotas coming into the agencies, because no peace agreement with Utes is recorded elsewhere. The Terasaki winter count shows a white soldier holding a Lakota man with a single eagle feather in his hair. The Lakota points toward a bluff or mountain, perhaps indicating either Ft. Robinson (where the Crazy Horse's Oglalas surrendered) or the Black Hills for which they had been fighting. The pictographic Brown Wolf winter count depicts an agreement between the Lakotas and Colonel Nelson Miles. Miles was charged with pursuing and forcing the surrender of the so-called hostile Lakota bands. The Short Bull and Thin Elk winter counts show a white man and a Lakota man shaking hands.

SFM Man with long, Lakota-style hair and a name glyph of some kind of white bird and the sign for holy or sacred.

RB 1877-78 . Tašunka witko ktepi. (Tašunka witko ktepi.) Na on opáwoju ekta ia. Crazy Horse was killed. For the first time they planted together.

WS 1878 Omaha oyankata eyotaka. (Wakinyan Cigala telo.) Omaha stayed there. Little Thunder died.

The Brown Wolf winter count depicts a person inside a rectangle. On this winter count, this represents a nonviolent death. A name glyph in the form of a small white bird indicates the deceased person's identity. The Short Bull winter count shows a Lakota man with a wavy line drawn behind him and a hawk and coup-stick or quirt above his head. A series of wavy "medicine" lines representing holiness appears above and to the left of the pictograph. The pictograph on the St. Francis Mission winter count likely refers to the death of Little Thunder. Thunder was often visualized as a bird with power streaks emanating from it.





SFM Drawing of a four-wheeled wagon.

RB 1878-79 Toka canpagmi yanpi yuke. (Toká canpagmiyanpi yuke.) They were issued wagons.

WS 1879 Toka canba \_\_\_ yan icupi. (Toka canbagmi yan wayawa eyaye.) They were issued wagons. They took them to school.

The Big Missouri and Iron Shell winter counts also record the issue of wagons this year (Cohen 1939:19; Hassrick 1964:311). The Terasaki winter count depicts a four-wheeled box wagon. The pictograph here probably records the wagon issue and not taking the children away to school.

SFM Drawing of two persons, perhaps a boy and a girl, inside a rectangular building with a chimney.

RB 1879 Toka waya wa ai. [Carlisle] (Toká waya wa ai. [Carlisle]) They went to the strangers' school.

WS 1880 Hoksila lo waya wa eyaya. (Toka hoksícala wayawa eyaye.) The children were taken away to school.

As Buechel's notation indicates, this refers to the first group of Lakota children being taken away and kept at Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania. This event is recorded in the Good, High Hawk, Iron Shell, and High Plains Heritage Center winter counts for 1880 (Curtis 1908:180; Hassrick 1964:311; Mallery 1893:328). Red Horse Owner simply says this was the first time they lived in white-man houses (Karol 1969:40).

SFM Lakota man with bear paw name glyph

RB 1880 Wahu keza huha ta. (Wahúkeza yuha ta.) Spear Carrier died.  
WS 1881 Mato kawinge kaskapi. (Manto kawinge kaškapelo.) Turning Bear was run over.

End of Cloud's winter count records that Lone Bear Pipe was killed this year. High Hawk notes that Three Bear killed a white man and was put in jail (Curtis 1908:180). Iron Shell states that Turning Bear was jailed for killing a white man this year (Hassrick 1964:311). Steamboat says that Shoots the Bear Running was killed this year. The Brown Wolf winter count has a picture of a running bear, probably representing the death of Shoots Bear Running. The same event is listed in the Bettelyoun's Lone Dog, Vestal's White Bull, Roan Bear, and Roan Bear winter counts. It is not clear which event is recorded in the pictograph shown here.

SFM Man with Spotted Tail name glyph.

RB 1881 Kan ři šunka kaškapi. (Kangi šunka kaškapi.) Crow Horse was captured.

WS 1882 Sinte kle ska ktepi. (Sinte kleška ktepelo.) Spotted Tail was killed.

The killing of Spotted Tail is recorded in the Wounded Bear, Iron Crow, Short Man, No Ears, Iron Shell, Garnier, Swift Bear, Red Horse Owner, Spider, Terasaki, and Flying Hawk winter counts (Cohen 1939:19; Feraca 1971; Grange 1963:77; Hassrick 1964:311; Karol 1969:41; McCreight 1947:168; Walker 1982:149; Young Bear 1987:782).

SFM Man with Lakota hair, four upright feathers on their head, and a red and white banner.

RB 1882 Same as 1881

WS 1883 To ba kiya wakicaga. (Tobakiya wakicagelo.) Four sponsored a dance.

The Elk Head winter count records the death of Chief Four Hair for 1884. An incomplete and unidentified Hunkapa or Yanktonai winter count on file in the archives of Oglala Lakota College records the death of a relative of Red Warbonnet or Red Banner. The pictograph probably refers to Four's dance.





SFM Apparently a picture of a gabled frame building with a red roof.

RB 1883 Same as 1881.

WS 1884 Wipa sa owa ci kagapi. (Wipa śaya owaci kagapelo.) They made a dance hall with a red roof.

The Iron Shell winter count records that the Red Top Tipi band made a dance hall (Hassrick 1964:311). The picture here suggests that this is a mistranslation for “they made a dance hall with a red top.”

SFM Drawing of a buffalo bull.

RB 1884 Tatanka ohitika te. (Tatanka ohitika te.) Brave Bull died.

WS 1885 Tatank ohiti ka ta. (Tatanka ohitika telo.) Brave Bull died.

Red Horse Owner records that this was the last year they went out to hunt bison (Karol 1969:41). The pictograph could refer either to the death of Brave Bull or the bison hunt, but the former seems more likely because of the many other correspondences between the unidentified winter count and those of Ring Bull and Walking on Sky.

SFM Drawing of a man with Crow netted hairstyle and Crow-style necklaces, wounded at the scalp.

RB 1885 Cante nonpa ta. (Cante nunpa ta.) Two Heart died.

WS 1886 Siksela wica ya wa. (Siksela wicaya wayelo.)

For 1885, the Terasaki winter count shows the heads of two Crow men next to a tipi. This probably records the killing of some Crows in their camp or the death of someone named Two Crows. The most literal interpretation of the pictograph would be “they killed a Crow warrior in battle”; however, such battles were over by 1885.

SFM White man holding a pen.

RB 1886 Tatank tanka ta. (Tatank tanka ta.) Big Bull died.

For 1885, High Hawk stated, “A white man named Big Star came to make a treaty, but told lies and died” (Curtis 1908:181). The apparently refers to the Edmunds Commission’s attempts to wrest legal ownership of the Black Hills from the Lakotas. High Hawk noted that their earlier visit, in 1883, was called the Year of Lies (Curtis

1908:181). The pictograph here refers to the attempted treaty-making, as indicated by the pen in the man's hand.



SFM Picture of two men on one horse. They are wounded and have a cloud over their heads.

RB 1887 Tašunke wakita ta. Looking Horse died.

WS 1887 Nonb karpa hoksila wakinyan ktepi. (Nonb karpa hokšila wakiya ktepi.) Two young men were killed by lightning.

The pictograph shown here very likely refers to the death of the two young men in the lightning storm. They appear to wear the Pawnee hairstyle. Lightning strikes were viewed as the result of breaking a sacred obligation to the Thunder-beings.

SFM Picture of a white man with a gun discharging behind his back.

1888: Bald died.

WS 1888 Wazi hanska spe wica kiya. (Wazi hanska wicazo oyuspe wicakiye.) Long Pine divided [the land].

Big Missouri also records that the land was surveyed and divided this year (Cohen 1939:19). The Elk Head winter count notes that General George Crook was in charge of

the operation. The Red Horse Owner winter count for 1887 states that Flat Ground shot someone by accident (Karol 1969:62). Long Pine was Willard J. Cleveland, and Episcopal missionary, who assisted in the land allotment program. The Terasaki winter count shows a Lakota man taking the pen from Long Pine to sign the agreement. The previous year, the same two men are shown with the pen and treaty in the hands of the white man. The only year name that seems to match this picture is the accidental shooting reported in the Red Horse Owner winter count.

SFM White man with three stars above his head.

RB 1889 Mato ocin śica te. [Three Stars 89] (Mato ocin śica te. [also Wicaḥpi yamni]) Bad Tempered Bear died. Also Three Stars.

WS 1889 Wicarpi yamni. (Wicarpi yamni hiyelo.) Three Stars arrived.

Three Stars was the Lakota nickname for General George Crook. In 1889, he traveled to the various agencies inducing the Lakotas to sign away nine million acres of their reservation lands (Hyde 1956:184-228). This event is recorded in the Steamboat, Red Horse Owner, Iron Hawk, Holy Bull, Elk Head, Short Man, Terasaki, Vestal's White Bull, and Fills the Pipe winter counts (Ironhawk 1936; Karol 1969:62; Vestal 1934b:271; Walker 1982:151).

SFM A spotted elk cow with a person behind it wearing a distinctive shirt with yellow shoulder patches.

RB 1890 Unpan kleška togapaktepi [Sitanka]. (Unpan gleška tiyápaktepi [Sitanka].) Spotted Elk was killed in camp. (Big Foot)

WS 1890 Onpan kle ska ktepi. (Onpan kleška ktepelo.) Spotted Elk was killed.

This refers to the Wounded Knee Massacre. Spotted Elk Cow was the formal name of Chief Big Foot. This tragedy is recorded in the Wounded Bear, Red Horse Owner, Kindle, Iron Hawk, Garnier, Flying Hawk, Iron Crow, Short Man, No Ears, Spider, Vestal's White Bull, and Whiteman Stands in Sight winter counts (Beckwith 1930:365; Feraca 1971; Grange 1963:78; Ironhawk 1936; Karol 1969:62; McCreight 1947:169; Powers 1963:34; Walker 1982:151; Vestal 1934b:271; Young Bear 1987:782).





SFM Lakota man with three dollars.

RB 1891 Wanbli ci kala ti. (Wanbli cikala te.) Little Eagle died.

WS 1891 Maka mani akicita eya ya. (Manka mani akicita eyayelo.) They made them infantry soldiers.

WS 1892 Mazaska 3 kpa mnipi. (Manzaska yamni kpa mnipi.) A distribution of three dollars.

A per capita payment of \$3.00 is recorded in the Blue Thunder, Blue Thunder variants, No Two Horns, and Terasaki winter counts.

SFM Two men with long hair, and connected by lines; one has a red mark at the hairline as if scalped.

RB 1892 “Asanpi sica” cuwita te. (“Asanpi sica” cuwita te.) Bad Milk froze to death.

WS 1893 Kangi wicasa oyanke ta ai. (Psaloka oyanketa aiyelo.) Crow Man died there.

The most plausible interpretation of this pictograph comes from the winter count of High Hawk. He recorded that Big Crow killed his brother in 1892 (Curtis 1908:182). This explains why the two are connected by lines, showing that they were relatives, and why one is shown with a wound.

SFM Picture of large bird with red cheek spot, red body and legs and black-banded tail, resembling a Coopers hawk.

RB 1893 “Šunk’aze” ta. (“Šunk’aze” ta.) Iron Dog or Horse Shoe died.

WS 1894 Wanbli luta ta. (Wanbli luta telo.) Red Eagle died.

RB 1894 “Tašinta napin” te. (“Tašinta napin” te.) Fatty Buffalo Tail died.

The only year name that seems to match the picture is the death of Red Eagle.

SFM Drawing of a large yellow bird.

RB 1895 Wakin yan gi cuwita te. (Wakinyan gi cuwita te.) Yellow Thunder froze to death.

WS 1895 Wakinyan gi cuwita ta. (Wakinyan gi cuwita telo.) Yellow Thunder froze to death.

The End of Cloud winter count lists the death of Iron Thunder for 1894. High Hawk states that Thunder Hawk killed a woman in 1895, Yellow Thunder died from exposure in 1896, and Big Hawk froze to death in 1897 (Curtis 1908:182). The death of Yellow Thunder most closely matches the pictograph shown here.



SFM Crow [bird].

RB 1896 Tahu iyokihe te. (Tahu iyókihe te.) Second neck died.

WS 1896 Kangi howaste ta. (Kangi howašte telo.) Good Voice Crow died.

In 1896, a lynch mob hanged three Indians accused of the murder of six white people near Fort Yates, North Dakota. The three were Paul Holy Track, Alex Cadotte, and Standing Bear (Philip Ireland). This probably is the event referred to in Ring Bull, but not in the unidentified St. Francis Mission and Walking on Sky winter counts. The lynching is listed in the High Dog and Swift Dog, and Lawrence's Hunkpapa winter counts, as well. The murder is recorded in the Eaton winter count for 1897 (Lawrence 1905, 1909; Sundstrom and Halfred 1988). Both events are listed in an incomplete and unidentified Hunkapa or Yanktonai winter count on file in the archives of Oglala Lakota College. The pictograph shown here likely refers to the death of Good Voice Crow.

SFM Lakota with warbonnet and an ornament or decorated shirt flap on his chest.

RB 1897 Maku gila te. (Maku gila te.) Yellow Breast died.

WS 1897 Wiciyela wapa ha ahipi. (Wiciyela wapaha ahipelo.) Yankton warbonnet arrived.

The pictograph probably refers to the death of Yellow Breast or to some other Lakota man not mentioned in the other winter counts.

SFM Picture of a yellow horse.

WS 1898 Nankpa san mila yuha ta. (Nankpa san nila yuha telo.) Ears Red on One Side Owner died.

While the name Ears Red on One Side Owner seems to refer to a horse-owner, this picture shows a yellow horse with nondescript ears. Its most logical interpretation would be Yellow Horse died.

SFM Six disks representing dollars

RB 1898 Mape olezapi te. (Nape olejapi te.) Bladder Hand died.

WS 1899 Mazaska 6 kpa mnipi. (Manzaska šakpe kpa mnipelo.) A distribution of six dollars.

A treaty payment of six dollars per capita.

SFM White man with circles divided into quarters

RB 1899 Šinte luta te. (Šinte luta te.) Red Tail died.

WS 1900 Gugu canba qmi ya onote ta. (Wašicon wan canpagmi ya orlate telo.) A white man, "Gugu," was run over by a wagon.

The pictograph represents the death of Gugu when he was run over by a wagon. The quartered circles are intended for the wagon wheels with a line indicating the wagon bed between them.







SFM Man with long hair and four upright feathers on his head.

RB 1900 Paġi kat iye ici ya. (Paġi katiyeciya.) Something about pushing one's belly against something.

WS He toba telo. Four Horns died.

This picture probably refers to the death of Four Horns, as recorded in Walking on Sky's winter count.

SFM Drawing of white man holding an oar.

RB 1901 Itaye ho ta. (Itoye ho ta.) Brown Face died.

WS 1902 Toka canku kagapi. (Lakota canku kagapelo.)

The meaning of this pictograph is unclear. An Indian agent named Fielder stationed at the Cheyenne River agency was nicknamed Has a Boat; however, his death is recorded much earlier in the winter counts. This may refer to some event involving a son or other relative of his.

SFM Drawing of a white man holding a pen.

RB 1902 Wanbli mani te. (Wanbli mani te.) Walking Eagle died.

WS 1903 Kul wicasa ahiyu kta wicazo oyuspapi. (Wicazo oyusapelo.) They caught Pointer?

The drawing is perhaps a reference to the breakup of the reservations. Rosebud Reservation was broken up in 1902. Under this agreement, the Sicanju lost 416,000 acres of land (Higginbotham 1981:33). This event is recorded in the Big Missouri winter count (Cohen 1939:19). There was also the year that some reservation lands were made available for grazing leases, as recorded in the Elk Head winter count. The Terasaki winter counts shows a drawing of the U.S. Capitol. Two men beside it are shaking hands.

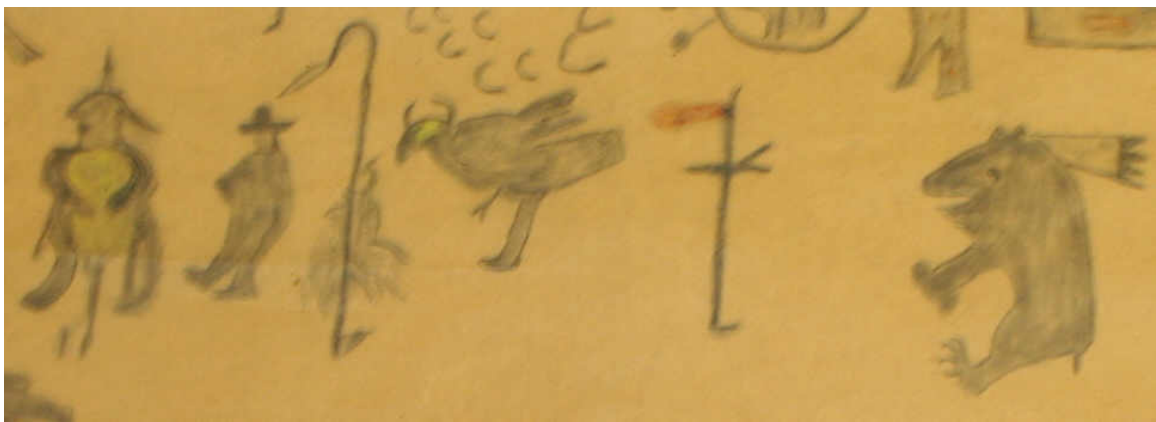
SFM Picture of something with four uprights.

RB 1903 He tipo te. (He topo te.) Four Horns died.

WS 1901 He toba ta. Four Horns died.

WS 1904 Hoksicala toba ki. (Hoksícala tobapelo.) Four babies [quaduplets].

The birth of quadruplets is recorded in the Big Missouri and High Plains Heritage Center winter counts (Cohen 1939:20). The High Plains winter counts gives the mother's name as Skunk Woman and says she had three boys and a girl. Big Missouri states that the babies lived only a short time (Cohen 1939:20). Iron Hawk says that three babies were born at the same time and died (Ironhawk 1936). The Brown Wolf winter count depicts a woman with three infants.



SFM Lakota man with long hair and single upright eagle feather whose body takes the shape of a yellow animal with a long tail or who perhaps holds a mountain lion skin to his chest.

RB 1904 Forked Tree died.

WS 1905 Ikmon wakiya wan soketa maka yu blu wica. (Ikmon wakiya wan makayu blu wicaši). Judge Cat commanded them to plow a quarter section of land.

This meaning of this picture is unclear. If the long-tailed yellow object the man grasps represents the skin of a mountain lion or wildcat, then it may be a reference to Judge Cat's order that they make an attempt at farming. Unfortunately, no plow, plants, or other indications of farming are shown here.

SFM Drawing of a white man approaching on foot.

RB 1905 “Mniyaye” te. (Mni iyaye te.) Water Bearer died.

WS 1906 Ikman wakuwa ta. (Ikmon wakuwa telo.) Hunts Mountain Lions died, or a mountain lion hunter died.

The death of a mountain lion hunter may be represented by the previous pictograph. Certainly, neither of the year names listed here fits a picture of a white man.

SFM Picture of a crooked lance with something unidentifiable behind it.

RB 1906 Waha sankā ska te. [2/11/07] (Wahacanka ska te. [2/11/07].) White Shield died.

WS 1907 Tawa hu keza ta. (Tawa hukeza telo.) His [or Her] Bone Fishhook died.

The meaning of this pictograph could not be discerned.

SFM Picture of an eagle with human legs and curved horns.

RB 1907 Maŕpi ya tatanka te. [10/26/07] (Maŕpiya tatanka te. [10/26/07].) Bull Cloud died.

WS 1908 Wanbli heton ta. (Wanbli he ton telo.) Horned Eagle died.

The pictograph undoubtedly refers to the death of Horned Eagle.

SFM Drawing of a Sun Dance pole with a red banner on it.

RB 1908 Śina luta pekna ka te. [11/9/08] (Śina luta pēgnaka te.) Red Banner died.

WS 1909 Wiwanyanka waci. (Tioju wiwanyak wacipelo.) Sun Dance at Planting Village.

Either name could conceivably fit the pictography; however, the Sun Dance interpretation seems more likely given the details of the picture.

SFM Picture of a bear with an eagle feather warbonnet.

RB 1909 Tacanśpi luta te. [11/1/09]. (Tacanŕpi luta te.) His Red Warclub died.

WS 1910 Mato wanbli ta. (Manto wanbli telo.) Eagle Bear died.

Eagle Bear’s death is also recorded in the Big Missouri winter count (Cohen 1939:20).

This is probably the correct interpretation of the pictograph shown here.



SFM Drawing of a Lakota man with a hand or bear paw name glyph.  
 RB 1910 Tašunka taninyan najin iwan ga\_k waci. (Tašunka taņinyan najin iwanyang waci.) They held a Horse Dance.

The Kindle and No Ears winter counts list the death of Afraid of Bear for 1911 (Beckwith 1930:366; Walker 1982:157). The correct interpretation of this pictograph is unclear; although the name sign resembles a bear paw in the canvas version, it is much more ambiguous in the drawing on paper.

SFM Drawing of a bird and a four-legged animal with a rectangle over the animal's back.  
 RB 1911 Mato kawinge maza canku na te. [9/4/11] (Mato kawinge mazacanku nate. [9/4/11].) Turning Bear was killed by a train.  
 WS 1911 Matokawinge maza canju nata. (Manto kawinge manza caku aliyelo.) Turning Bear was killed by a train.

This pictograph perhaps refers to the death of a person named Eagle Calf or something similar. It does not jibe with the Ring Bull and Walking on Sky year names.

SFM Drawing of two wounded people on horseback with upright hair and wounds on their chests and a coup stick over them.  
 RB 1912 Mato hehlogeca te. [3/15/13] (Mato hehlogeca te. [3/15/13].) Hollow Horn Bear died.

RB 1913 Nonp kasakpa te. [11/21/13] (Nunb kaḥpa te. [11/21/13].) Two Strikes died.  
WS 1913 Nonb karpa ta. (Nomb karpa telo). Two Strikes died.

This pictograph probably is intended to record the death of Two Strikes (see Cohen 1939:20).

SFM Drawing of a woman.

RB 1914 Nawicaśli. [Spring 1915. (Nawicaśli. [Spring 1915].) Measles.

WS 1914 Kangi saba winon rcala ta. (Kangi saba winon rcala telo.) Old woman Black Crow died.

The pictograph probably refers to the death of Black Crow, although absent a name sign, it could refer to some other woman. For 1913, the Blue Thunder, No Two Horns, and Blue Thunder variant winter counts refer to the death of the wife of Grey Bear and/or “Mrs. Parkins.” It is not known whether this is the same person. For the following year No Two Horns records that White Eagle’s wife was killed by train at Mandan, North Dakota. The year after that, the death of Good Crow’s wife is recorded in the Blue Thunder and No Two Horns winter counts (Howard 1960:411).

SFM Drawing of a man with a yellow staff and an animal (dog or fox?) name glyph.

RB 1915 Wapa snonpi te. [11/12/15] (Wapá snonpi te. [11/12/15].) Roaster died.





SFM The St. Francis Mission building with notation “1916.”

RB 1916 Peta yuha ile. [1916] (“Peta yuha” ile. [1916].) Fire Carrier was burned.

WS 1916 Saba on owa ya wa tipi ruknan gelo. (Owaonspe kiye tipi ileyelo.) The black boarding school was destroyed by fire.

Although, no fire is depicted, this pictograph no doubt refers to the fire that destroyed the St. Francis Mission Church in 1916. The High Plains Heritage Center winter count refers to the same event for 1916.

SFM Drawing of a Lakota man with black bird name glyph.

RB 1917 Cagleška wakinyan te. (Cangleška wakinyan te.) Thunder Hoop died.

WS 1917 Zinkta saba ta. (Zintkala sapa telo.) Black Bird died.

This pictograph clearly records the death of Black Bird.

SFM Man in Army uniform.

RB 1918 Germany wica ka’gapi. (Germany wica ka’gapi.) si l\_\_ka ob wicigapi. Germany surrendered.

WS 1918 Si hanska okilize tanka. (Sihanska okicize tankayelo.) A big battle with the long feet.

The pictograph and both winter count texts refer to World War I.

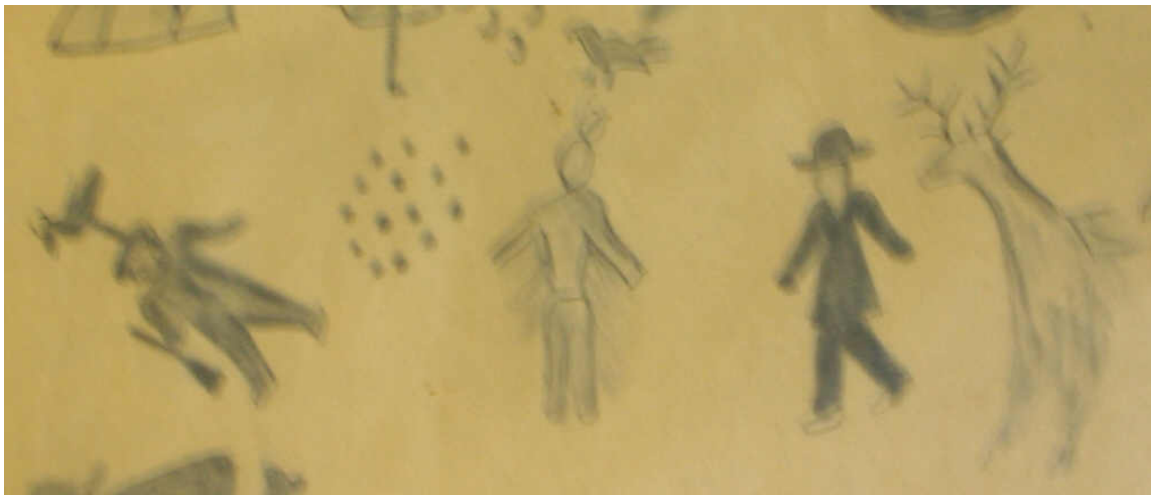
SFM Girl in white woman’s dress with foot severed from her leg.

RB 1919-20 Wicincala nunp cuwita tapi. (Wicincala nunp cuwita tapi.) [Lizzie Red Shirt and Annie Coarse Voice 12/12/19] Two girls froze to death.

WS 1919 Wayawa wicicala wan hu waksapi. (Wayawa wicicala hu waksupelo.) A school girl had her leg amputated.

According to the Big Missouri winter count, two girls ran away from St. Francis Mission school on a winter day. One froze to death and the other froze her feet so badly that they had to be amputated (Cohen 1939:20). The Holy Bull winter count records that two boys, grandsons of Fair Weather, froze to death when they ran away from school.

End of Ring Bull winter count.



RB 1921 Picture of a man in uniform with rifle and a horned bird name glyph; notation "1920."

WS 1920 Wanbli heton ahipi. (Wanbli heton ktepi ahipelo.) Horned Eagle returned.

The US Army uniform suggests that Horned Eagle returned from military service at this time.

SFM Many dots to represent coins; notation "\$783.00"

WS 1921 Mazaska 180.30 khamnipi. (\$183.00 kpa mnipelo.) Distribution of \$180.30.

The pictograph is likely intended to represent the distribution of a large amount of money.

SFM Man in fine buckskin shirt with fringes; he wears a single eagle feather; his name glyph is a bird, perhaps a hawk.

WS 1922 Cetan wanktuya ta. (Cetan wankatuya telo.) High Hawk died.

The Walking on Sky winter count text is a reasonable fit for this picture; however, it may refer to the death of some other Lakota leader with a bird name.

SFM Drawing of a white man approaching on foot; notation “1925.”

WS 1923 Case wakuja wicusa hi. (Wakinya wicasa wan hiyelo.) Case

This pictograph seems to refer to the Lakota leaders selecting an attorney to represent them in their claim to the Black Hills. In 1922, the Lakota initiated a lawsuit against the U.S. government over the taking of the Black Hills in 1876. They chose Ralph H. Case as their attorney. The case reached the U.S. Supreme Court in 1980, with the Court ruling in favor of the Lakotas, but their ruling provided only for a monetary settlement, rather than return of land. The Lakota tribes have steadfastly refused to take the money, which is held in escrow for them, and consider the case still open. The End of Cloud winter count says “They agreed not to give up the Black Hills” for 1922. Vestal’s White Bull winter count records for 1920 that a “bad Black Hills meeting” was held at Crow Creek, for 1921 that the tribes selected an attorney for their suit, and for 1923 that the Black Hills matter went before a judge to show proof of damages (Vestal 1934b:272-3).

SFM 1926 Front half of an elk.

WS 1924 Heraka isnala ta. (Heraka isnala telo.) Lone Elk died.

Again, Walking on Sky and the unidentified winter count appear to be in agreement.





SFM 1927 Drawing of a large black bird.

WS 1925 Kangi tanka ta. (Kangi tanka telo.) Big Crow died.

This pictograph again agrees with the Walking on Sky winter count in recording the death of Big Crow.

SFM 1928 Lakota man with red mark on his chest.

WS 1926 Ta opi ciqala ta. (Ta opi cigala telo.) Wound's son died.

This pictograph is open to more alternative interpretations than the last two; however, the death of Wound's son is a reasonable possibility.

SFM White man holding out a box or book; notation "22."

WS 1927 Cetan ciqala ta. (Cetan cigala telo). Sunka bloka ta. Hawk's son died. He Dog died.

The meaning of this pictograph is not clear. It may refer again to the Lakotas' legal claim to the Black Hills, but it could also refer to the arrival or death of a missionary.

1928 Slihe te. Tapered Hill died.

End of Walking on Sky winter count.

## **Conclusions**

Similarities between the pictographic winter count from the museum at Buechel Memorial Lakota Museum and the written winter counts of Walking on Sky, Ring Bull, and Iron Shell strongly suggests that all four winter counts refer to Minneconjou (Rosebud) Lakota history. Because the Buechel Museum winter count does not precisely match any other known winter count, its identity remains could not be determined. Nevertheless, it provides yet another Lakota source on historical events from 1808 to 1928: twelve decades that witnessed vast changes in Lakota life. From the conquest of the North Platte, Black Hills, and Powder River country to the loss of millions of acres of treaty lands, this was a period of upheaval in the Lakota world. The St. Francis Mission winter count attests to these changes, but at the same time shows that traditional values, such as bravery and service, continued to be cherished by the Lakota people. The winter count appears to have been a work in progress—for example, the canvas copy has a final pictograph that does not appear in the paper copy. The winter count thus was not a relic or antique when Father Buechel acquired it, but a dynamic, active part of the life of its unknown creator.

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End of Cloud Winter Count: E.A. Milligan Collection, University of North Dakota, Grand Forks

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<sup>1</sup> Buechel variously identifies the author of this winter count as Ring Bull and Bull Ring. Unfortunately, he did not record the Lakota version of this name. A Ring Bull family appears in census records for Rosebud Reservation during the period in which Buechedl collected the winter count; hence, I refer to the winter count and its author as Ring Bull.